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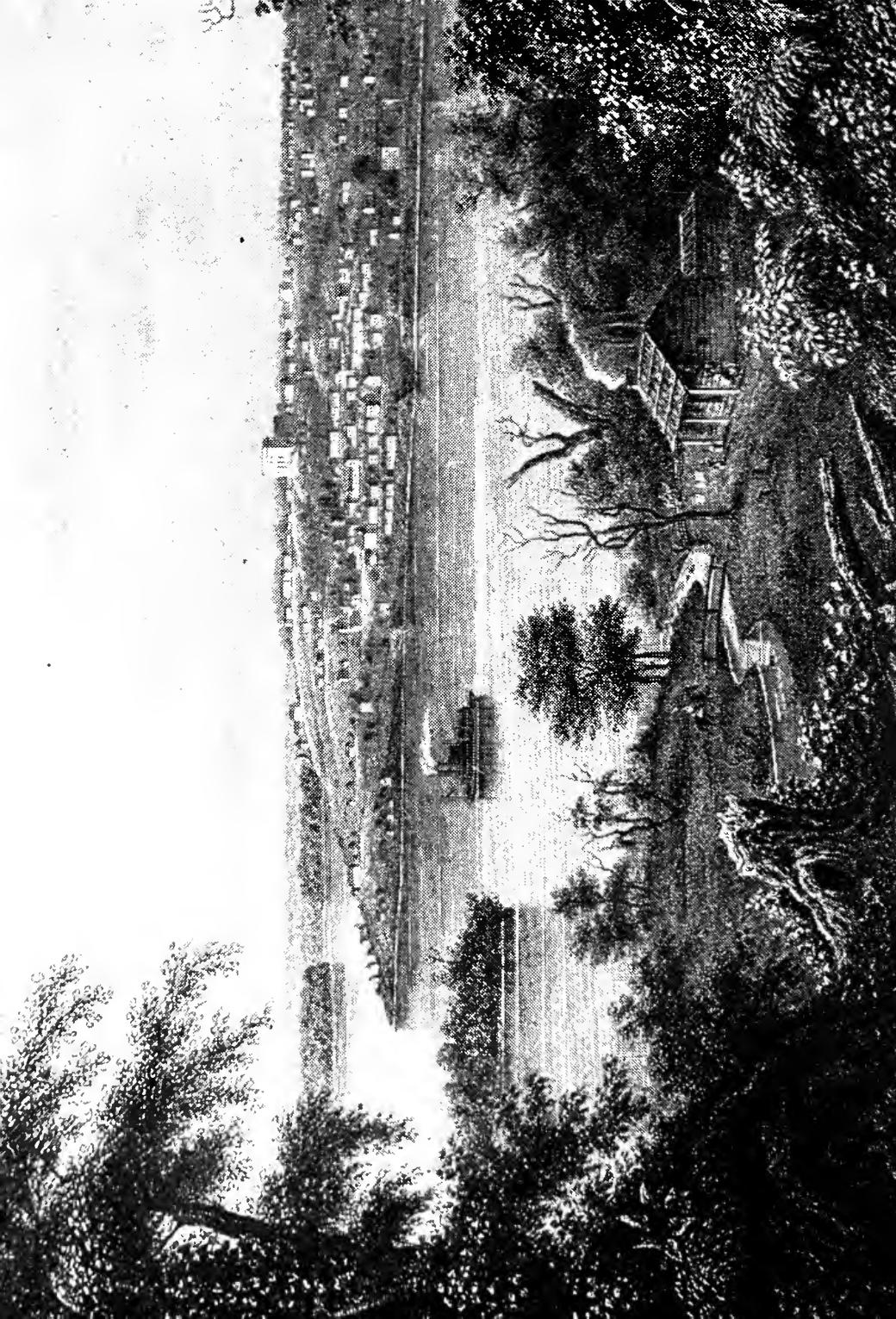
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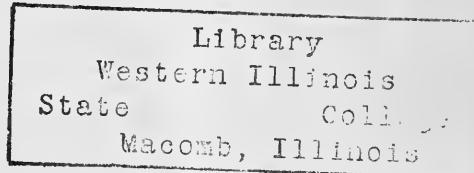


nauvoo guide



AMERICAN GUIDE SERIES

*Compiled and Written
by Federal Writers' Project of Illinois,
Works Progress Administration*



*Sponsored By The
Unity Club of Nauvoo*

A. C. McCLURG & CO. CHICAGO
1939

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Prefatory Note

Nauvoo is one of the most important places associated with the history of the middle west, and indeed of America. In its own right, present-day Nauvoo is exceptionally interesting and picturesque. Rich in history and relics, it is well suited to an individual volume in the American Guide Series. This book is offered as a contribution to a better understanding of the Nauvoo of the past and a greater appreciation of the Nauvoo of the present and future.

Few chapters in American history have been so frequently miswritten and misread as those containing the dramatic incidents of early years at Nauvoo. Any writer who attempts to deal with this history encounters the gravest difficulties in reconciling contradictory reports of important events. Obviously, it is the duty of a Federal agency, in presenting a book about Nauvoo, to seek a wholly objective treatment of all matters of controversy—a treatment equally free from prejudice and from partisanship. We have made a most sincere effort in this book to achieve both accuracy and fairness. Aware that it is impossible for us to please fully all those of diverging views, we crave only understanding of our purpose, and a tolerant recognition of our problem.

I wish to extend my personal appreciation, for their coöperation in the production of this work, to James Phelan, author of the text, and to John Stenvall of the Federal Art Project of Illinois, who made the illustrations. All of the photographs except two are reproduced with the permission of the *Chicago Daily News*, and are by Clyde Brown, chief photographer for that paper. The painting of the Brigham Young House, reproduced on the cover, is the work of Lane K. Newberry, well-known painter of historical Illinois scenes, and is used with his special permission. Most of all, thanks are due the people of Nauvoo, who have made the publication possible.

—John T. Frederick,
Regional Director,
Federal Writers' Project.

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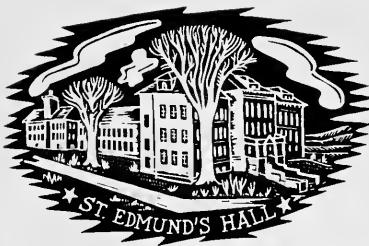
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Cover Design: *Brigham Young House, from Painting by Lane K. Newberry.*





City of the Prophet

The tourist bound south along the Mississippi River on State 96 might easily speed past the business district of Nauvoo, sweep around the sharp curve at St. Edmund Hall, drop down the hill and out of town with scarcely a thought to what he had just passed. Nauvoo, at a casual glance, appears indistinguishable from countless other Illinois farming towns of a thousand population. The hurrying driver might catalogue Nauvoo as another such pea-in-the-pod, and remember it—if at all—because of its unusual name. But Nauvoo reveals, upon closer examination, an oddity in structure, the relic of sudden boom and swift decline almost a century ago.

Here, in the 1840's, when Chicago was a stripling village of less than 5,000, and Springfield, the new State capital, a muddy little town recently planted on the prairie, stood the largest city in Illinois, a community of more than 20,000. Center of the rapidly increasing sect of Mormonism, Nauvoo possessed thousands of dwellings, and a great Temple into the construction of which had been poured a million dollars. Authors and journalists came here from the East to describe the swiftly blooming metropolis and interview Joseph Smith, Prophet and temporal leader of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints. Politicians courted the favor of the Saints, who for several years held the political balance of power in Illinois. Then internal dissension touched off a fuse that sputtered briefly within the ranks of the faithful, shortly ignited the hatred of surrounding non-Mormons, exploded in the fury of the Mormon Wars, and snuffed Nauvoo overnight. And between the appearance of the Saints at this place, and their hurried exodus, only seven years elapsed.

The framework of Nauvoo today is obviously that of a much larger and older community. Built up solid, it could house a community the size of Alton or Elgin. Within its limits are many small farms and vineyards, as though a dam that once barred country fields from the town had given way and let the fields come spilling over. Save for a short stretch of business houses on Mulholland Street, the town blocks are but loosely knit. Houses stand as corner posts, but between them and behind them run the neat geometry of vineyards and the lush disarray of vegetable gardens. Many of the Mormon houses are still standing and are occupied, but throughout the village are scattered empty foundation pits, with elms and maples leaning over, and here and there the bones of a house, shrubs growing out of its long-collapsed roof, and vines hiding its mellowed walls. Into many a hillock of Nauvoo's rolling terrain are tucked the wine-cellars built by the Icarians who followed the Mormons, and by the Germans who followed the Icarians. These no longer serve the purpose for which they were built—although wine is still made in Nauvoo—and now stand empty and crumbling, or serve as makeshift refrigerators for a family's vegetables.



Nauvoo stands on two levels, referred to locally as the Hill and the Flat. More than sixty years ago the business district was moved out of the Flat, where Joseph Smith had begun it, and up the Hill to its present location. On the Flat stood the most impressive houses of the Mormons, and thus they were left untouched by what little growth Nauvoo has seen in the past six decades. Around the town site, in a great crescent, sweeps the



Chicago Daily News Photo—By Clyde Brown

THE FERRYBOAT "CITY OF NAUVOO"

Mississippi River, here wider than elsewhere because of the downstream Keokuk Dam. From the Hill, Nauvoo commands a pleasing view of the lowlands that once swarmed with the Saints, and beyond that broad belt of wooded ground, the curving line of the river and the Iowa bluffs. Southward the Hill merges into bluffs that line the river and enhance the beauty of a charming twelve mile scenic drive to Hamilton, Illinois.

The Flat best tells the tragic and violent story of Nauvoo's decline. Were it not for the obvious age of the houses here, this part of Nauvoo might be a real-estate subdivision that was laid out pretentiously in 1928 and collapsed in 1930. The streets are checkerboard in pattern, but many of them can be traced only with difficulty; in some instances their limits are marked by the fences of bordering farms, and no traffic disturbs the grass growing there. Seventh (or Main) Street, once the principal business street, has less than a dozen houses on it, and no commercial buildings. In the 1840's a traveler in Nauvoo found Parley Street a marvelous sight, and wrote that it was built up solidly for several miles back from the river. Now but a handful of houses line it; whole blocks have no buildings, and save for the few crumbled stones marking the site of the Seventies Hall, even the ruins of that one-time prosperity have been effaced.

Today only some sixty members of the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints live in Nauvoo. To them goes the credit for preserving the important relics of Joseph Smith's Nauvoo. The Joseph



BUSINESS DISTRICT OF NAUVOO

Chicago Daily News Photo—By Clyde B.

Smith Homestead, the Mansion House—second home of the Prophet—the Nauvoo House, which was under construction as a great hotel when Smith was murdered, and numerous other historic dwellings are owned and maintained by the Reorganized Church. The church also has a guide service to the town, and has done considerable research in determining the original owners of the old Mormon homes and in locating the sites of important buildings that have been destroyed.

This branch differs from the larger group of Mormons at Utah in several important tenets of dogma. The separation was based upon the question of authority, the Utah Church maintaining that at the death of Joseph Smith the Twelve Apostles became the presiding Quorum. Both branches accept Joseph Smith as Prophet, and the *Book of Mormon* as an addendum to the Bible. However, the Reorganized Church vehemently denies that Smith ever practiced or countenanced polygamy, and claims that the doctrine of plural wives was "revealed" by Brigham Young after the death of Joseph Smith. Their editions of *Doctrine and Covenants*, the book of divine revelations, contain none of the revelations received by Brigham Young and other Utah church dignitaries. Many visitors to Nauvoo are members of the Utah branch, and spirited arguments on the historical question of polygamy frequently pepper the quiet of the old homestead.

In increasing numbers both "Reorganites" and Utah Mormons make the pilgrimage to Nauvoo and the nearby Carthage jail, where Joseph Smith and his brother, Hyrum, were murdered by a mob. Gradually the conception of Nauvoo as a latter-day Mecca is shaping; this conception,

with the martyrdom of Joseph Smith and the hegira to Utah, has given the Mormons three of the fixtures found in many long-established religions. Both the Utah and the Reorganized branches have acquired portions of the Temple lot in Nauvoo; the Utah Mormons expect some day to build there a copy of the Temple. Nauvoo as Mecca is booming.

In its non-religious aspects, Nauvoo is a quiet, stable little town almost wholly dependent upon agriculture and horticulture. A recently established aeronautical school strikes an anachronistic note; there are two Catholic boarding schools, a cheese factory, and a winery, but most of Nauvoo's citizens look to the soil for their livelihood. Unusual for such a diminutive town is Nauvoo's abundant supply of electric power, which it taps from the great power dam twelve miles downstream at Keokuk, Iowa.

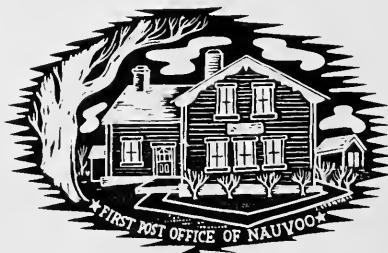
It is a queer twist in the town's development that the Icarians, who added but little to the Nauvoo of their day, left the town its most important economic heritage. Grape-raising, instituted by these French communists, remains the most important source of income. Many thousands of gallons of wine and grape juice are pressed annually; the remainder of the crop—as much as 150 carloads a year—is shipped out. Most of this leaves Nauvoo by truck or ferry, since Nauvoo is one of the two Illinois cities of more than 500 population that lack a railroad. It possesses, however, good connection by ferry with the railroad at Montrose, Iowa, directly across the river.



Moore's Early and Concord are the chief varieties of grapes raised. Few outside laborers are imported; during the picking season almost the entire town turns to and strips the vines. The money thus obtained provides for most of the residents' wants that cannot be supplied by the ubiquitous little three and four acre farms.

Because the narrative of their town's growth is such a colorful episode, Nauvoo's citizens have a historical awareness unusual among Illinoisans. Friendly and inclined toward a leisurely pattern of life, they willingly point out landmarks, and discuss such local moot questions as the exact site of the Temple cornerstone. Increasingly the town is becoming accustomed to the writers, reporters, and artists who periodically descend upon Nauvoo to poke around the old houses, examine the curios at the Oriental Hotel, and sketch the scenes of one-time Mormon activity. The influx, especially of artists, is greatest in the summer, for then Nauvoo blossoms into a riot of color. Hollyhocks grow beside the crumbling foundations; phlox, cannas, and larkspur crowd each other in the corners of vegetable gardens; and unexpectedly one comes upon the shell of a house spilling a great crown of trumpet flowers.

Recently Mrs. Verna O. Nelson gave to the State several large tracts of land on the Flat, and there is a move on foot to convert the entire Flat into a State Park, so that it may be preserved for the future, much as New Salem of Lincoln's day has been preserved. Whether or not the plans are consummated, Nauvoo is in little danger of extinction. Its importance to both branches of the church, and its citizens' knowledge of their heritage, assure the zealous guarding of Nauvoo's landmarks.





“We Will Build Up a City”

When the Mormons were harried out of Missouri in the winter of 1838-39, they crossed the Mississippi to Quincy, Illinois, and there received an unexpected welcome. A committee of Quincy citizens passed a resolution condemning the Governor of Missouri and urging that residents of Quincy “be particularly careful not to indulge in any conversation or expressions calculated to wound (the Mormon’s) feelings, or in any way to reflect upon those who, by every law of humanity, are entitled to our sympathy and commiseration.”

The previous lot of the Mormons, as told by church historians, had been one of persecution rather than cordial reception. Joseph Smith had published the *Book of Mormon* and founded the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints nine years before, in New York. Born in 1805, of poor and unlettered parents, he had received, at the age of 14, a vision wherein an angel had warned him against joining any of the existing religious denominations, and had revealed to him that the Lord was soon to restore the Gospel. In 1827, on the Hill of Cumorah, near Palmyra, New York, he dug up plates of gold on which were inscribed strange characters. Church history further relates that young Smith was provided with a pair of spectacles, the Urim and Thummim, by means of which he was able to translate the story inscribed on the plates. Dictating for months to Martin Harris, Oliver Cowdery, and others, he completed the lengthy *Book of Mormon* in 1830. Joseph Smith’s synopsis of

the book, which is accepted by the Mormons as an addendum to the Bible, was as follows:

"The history of America is unfolded from its first settlement by a colony that came from the Tower of Babel at the confusion of languages, to the beginning of the Christian era. We are informed by these records that America in ancient times has been inhabited by two distinct races of people. The first were called Jaredites, and came directly from the Tower of Babel. The second race came directly from the city of Jerusalem about 600 years before Christ. They were principally Israelites of the descendants of Joseph. The Jaredites were destroyed about the time the Israelites came from Jerusalem, who succeeded them in the inhabitance of the country. The principal nation of the second race fell in battle toward the close of the fourth century. The remnants are the Indian's that now inhabit the country."

Interwoven with the historical were theological passages. The reassembling of the tribes of Israel, the rebuilding of Zion on this earth, the second coming of Christ, and His reign upon earth were predicted.

The first church was established at Fayette, New York, on April 6, 1830, but it was not until headquarters were moved to Kirtland, Ohio, the following year, that appreciable gains were made in membership. In the same year, 1831, a branch colony was established at Jackson County, Missouri. Here began the long series of clashes with the Gentiles, as non-Mormons were called, that embittered the Mormons against Missouri for many years. Driven from Jackson County by a mob, in 1833, they settled in adjoining Clay County, only to have similar mob action effect their removal three years later. Going to Caldwell County, Missouri, they founded the towns of Adam-ondi-Alman and Far West, where they were joined by Smith and the remainder of the Kirtland Mormons in 1838.

Religious antagonism and fear of the political power of the Saints, who usually voted as a bloc, resulted in increasingly violent conflicts. Sporadic battles between armed forces culminated in the slaughter at Hawn's Mill, October 30, 1838, where a large number of Mormons were trapped in a blacksmith shop and murdered. At about the same time Governor Lilburn Boggs issued an order to the militia, proclaiming that "the Mormons must be treated as enemies, and must be exterminated or driven from the State." Joseph Smith, his brother Hyrum, Sidney Rigdon, and several other leaders were taken as hostages, and the rest of the Mormons were

hurriedly bundled out of the State, with little or no opportunity to pack their belongings or dispose of their property. The Smiths were held from November until April, 1839, under indictments ranging from murder and treason to arson and burglary. Early in April they obtained a change of venue to Boone County. On April 15, while en route to that place for trial, they escaped and fled to Quincy.

Such was the prologue to the Mormons' stay in Illinois. One last incident testified eloquently to the faith of these men in their newly arisen Prophet. Joseph Smith had announced, in April 1838, a revelation from the Lord commanding the erection of a temple at Far West. The Lord had admonished the Saints that "in one year from this day let them re-commence laying the foundation of my house." Secretly a group of the Apostles, under the leadership of Brigham Young, traveled from Quincy to Far West and on the night of April 26, 1839, met at the site of the Temple. Capture by the Missourians would have meant certain imprisonment, but there in the dark they rolled a huge stone into place, first softly intoning a hymn. Then they returned to Quincy, where Joseph Smith was laying plans for a new Zion of the frontier.



The futility of their nine-year effort to find a permanent home had depressed some of the Saints, but the return of Smith and the friendliness of Quincy citizens restored their optimism. Negotiations were entered into with Dr. Isaac Galland, a landholder in Iowa and Illinois, and on May 1 a church committee purchased two large farms from him for \$14,000 in the vicinity of Commerce, some fifty miles north of Quincy. Liberal terms of credit were arranged, and shortly other purchases were made.

Commerce, formerly a large Indian village named Quashquema, had been settled early in the 1820's as an Indian trading post. Joseph Smith's description of the site has been preserved. "The place," he wrote, "was literally a wilderness. The land was mostly covered with trees and bushes, and much of it was so wet that it was with the utmost difficulty that a footman could get through, and totally impossible for teams. Commerce was so unhealthy very few could live there, but believing that it might become a healthy place by the blessing of heaven to the Saints, and no more eligible place presenting itself, I considered it wisdom to make an attempt to build up a city."

Commerce was a discouraging nucleus for this task. It possessed not more than six or seven buildings—a storehouse, two blockhouses, and a few dwellings—all of the crudest construction. Joseph Smith moved into a tiny log cabin on the river-front, and he and the Saints fell to the task of building up their city. Shortly the Prophet renamed the town Nauvoo,

which he claimed meant "beautiful place" in Hebrew. Scholars of that language find no basis for the attribution.

Considering the difficulties encountered, the work progressed with astounding rapidity. Many of the Saints were stricken with malaria during the first few months before the land was drained. Both Brigham Young and Wilford Woodruff have testified that Joseph Smith miraculously healed many of the sick. "Joseph commenced in his own house and dooryard," wrote Brigham Young, "commanding the sick, in the name of Jesus Christ, to arise and be made whole, and they were healed according to his word. He then continued to travel from house to house, healing the sick . . ." In January 1841, the newly established Mormon paper, the *Times and Seasons*, reported a population of 3,000 in Nauvoo. At that time, Galena, the most important industrial city in Illinois, had but 2,250 persons, although that lead-mining center was in the up-swing of a twenty-year boom.

The treatment the Mormons had received at the hands of Missouri's officialdom led them to attempt to insure against a similar occurrence here. The method they took has generally been condemned by historians as unwise. At the time of the Mormons' arrival in Illinois, the Whigs and the Democrats were engaged in a struggle for political supremacy, and both parties were willing to grant liberal legislative favors to obtain the Saints' support. In 1840, the General Assembly awarded Nauvoo a city charter, an extraordinary document that had little precedent for the liberal

terms it set forth. Nauvoo was made virtually an autonomous state, empowered to pass any laws not in direct conflict with the State and Federal Constitutions. Its Municipal Court was given the power to issue writs of habeas corpus in cases involving local ordinances. It was the exercising of this authority that subsequently did much to aggravate anti-Mormon sentiment. The city was also permitted to set up its own militia, the Nauvoo Legion, which, although subject to the Governor's call, was given the unusual power of governing itself by its own court-martial. /

Functioning as the Mormon lobbyist in the passage of the charter was John C. Bennett, around whom violent controversy was to center within a few years. Bennett, a doctor of somewhat dubious ability, was characterized by Governor Ford as "probably the greatest scamp in the western country." He had written a long, flattering letter to Smith early in 1840, hinting that he would join the Mormons if he could be assured of their political support, and intimating that he had his eye on the Governorship of Illinois. Smith's reply was none too cordial, but Bennett took up residence in Nauvoo in September of that year, and soon was wielding much influence in the civic affairs of the Mormons. For a while he served as mayor of Nauvoo and Major-General of the Nauvoo Legion; in addition he was appointed Master-in-chancery of Hancock County and Quarter-master-general of the Illinois State Militia.

Smith did not frequently tolerate the acquisition of such authority. More than six feet in height, and weighing over 200 pounds, he possessed exuberance and vitality that were felt in the temporal as well as the spiritual affairs of the Mormons. He has been variously described, depending on the bias of the interviewer, but all were impressed by his geniality and his democratic qualities. Josiah Quincy, in his *Figures of the Past*, depicted him as "a hearty, athletic fellow, with blue eyes standing prominently out on his light complexion, a long nose, and a retreating forehead . . . a fine looking man, is what the passer-by would instinctively have murmured upon meeting the remarkable individual."

The Mormon dwellings had no more than begun to rise on the Flat when Joseph Smith inaugurated an ambitious plan for foreign missionary work. Such work had already been pursued intensively in this country during the unstable years before Nauvoo, but now it assumed a grand scale. Brigham Young, Wilford Woodruff, and others of the Twelve Apostles were dispatched to England, and Orson Hyde to the Jews in Constantinople and Jerusalem. The *Millenial Star* was established in England,

and is still being published there; in one year's time 5,000 copies of the *Book of Mormon* were published and distributed, and 50,000 tracts. Their efforts met with singular success, especially in the depressed areas, such as Manchester and Liverpool. By 1850 there were 28,000 members of the church in England and Scotland, and 3,700 migrated to America between 1840 and 1846, taking up residence at Nauvoo. To the large number of English converts is also traced a portion of the trouble that beset the Mormons later. Prejudice against the English, stemming from the War of 1812, had not yet completely died down on the frontier.

Joseph Smith's revelations, which had filled a sizeable little book by 1835, came with less and less frequency at Nauvoo. But early in 1841, the *Times and Seasons* published a long revelation dated January 19th, containing instructions for the building of a Temple and a hotel. Referring to the latter, it read: "and let the name of that house be called Nauvoo House, and let it be a delightful habitation for man, and a resting place for the weary traveler, that he may contemplate the glory of Zion and

NAUVOO HOUSE

Chicago Daily News Photo—By Clyde



the glory of this, the corner-stone thereof . . . ” Elaborate instructions were given for the financing of the structure; a committee of the Saints was specifically named in the revelation to receive money and issue stock.



The Temple, a much more elaborate building, was treated rather briefly in comparison. In part it read:

“And send ye swift messengers, yea, chosen messengers, and say unto them; come ye, with all your gold and silver, and your precious stones, and with all your antiquities; and with all who have knowledge of antiquities, that will come, may come, and bring the box tree, and the fir tree, and the pine tree, together with all the precious trees of the earth.”

The practice of tithing, still prevalent among the Mormons in a modified form, greatly aided the construction of the Temple. Workmen gave every tenth day of their labor. The revelation had said nothing about the size or style of the building, other than the mention that Joseph Smith would be shown “all things pertaining to this house . . . and the place whereon it shall be built.” At intervals the Prophet gave instructions how the work should proceed. Josiah Quincy, in his *Figures of the Past*, records an amusing incident observed during his trip to Nauvoo:

“Near the Temple we passed a workman who was laboring under a huge sun, which he had chiselled from the solid rock. The countenance was of the negro type, and it was surrounded by the conventional rays.

“‘General Smith,’ said the man, looking up from his task, ‘is this like the face you saw in the vision?’

"‘Very near it,’ answered the Prophet, ‘Except’ (this was added with an air of careful connoisseurship that was quite overpowering)—‘except that the nose is just a thought too broad.’”

* * *

As the city spread and flourished, the first intimations of opposition began to rumble here and there throughout the countryside. The Mormons had given the Whigs a majority of more than 700 for Garrison in Hancock County, but in the gubernatorial contest of 1842 their vote swung to the Democrats, who received a majority or more than a thousand in this county. The attitude of the Gentiles had been summed up by the *Warsaw Signal*, which was shortly to become a violent critic of the Saints. “We believe they have the same rights as other religious bodies . . . But whenever they, as a people, step beyond the proper sphere of a religious denomination, and become a political body, as many of our citizens are beginning to apprehend will be the case, then this press stands pledged to take a stand against them.”

Early in 1842 trouble burgeoned again in Missouri. On May 6 an attempt was made to assassinate Governor Boggs, author of the intemperate “extermination order” that had preceded the Mormons’ expulsion from that state. Seated by an open window, the governor was badly wounded by a pistol-ball fired by an unknown assailant. Suspicion immediately focused on the Saints, and warrants were procured for O. P. Rockwell, charged with firing the shot, and Joseph Smith, named as inciter of the attack. Smith was arrested but promptly sued out a writ of habeas corpus in his Municipal Court. This was but the first of a series of arrests and attempted arrests, and for more than a year Smith was frequently in hiding. Once he was captured while out of Nauvoo, and only a hasty intervention of friends prevented his being hustled away to Missouri. The Utah edition of *Doctrine and Covenants* contains an epistle, dated September 1, 1842, that demonstrates the good use to which Smith put his powers. “For as much as the Lord has revealed unto me,” it runs, “that my enemies, both in Missouri and this State, were again in the pursuit of me . . . I have thought it expedient and wisdom in me to leave the place for a short season . . . ”

Shortly after the Boggs incident, serious trouble developed for the first time in the ranks of the faithful. Bennett broke with the church and suddenly left Nauvoo. Mormon historians claim that he was excommunicated

for immorality, but Bennett gave a characteristically grand and exciting explanation. Soon he published a lurid booklet, *History of the Saints; or an Expose of Joe Smith and Mormonism*, and began a series of lectures on the same subject. In the preface he claimed that he had learned of Mormon plans to set up a despotic religious empire over Illinois and adjoining states, and had joined the church merely to expose this treasonous plot. The book, written in a sensational style, made detailed charges of polygamy. Bennett subsequently convicted himself of roguery by attempting to rejoin the church, after Smith's death. But the charges that he noised about found many an eager ear. A group of Mormon wives promptly denied, in a published affidavit, that polygamy was practiced at Nauvoo, and Bennett was bitterly assailed in the *Times and Seasons*. *

Although opposition kept rumbling in the offing, eastern immigrants and foreign converts continued to pour in; the *Times and Seasons*, in October 1842, estimated that the city contained "between 7,000 and 8,000 houses, with a population of 14,000 or 15,000." On the hill the Temple was rising, and in August, 1843, the Prophet moved into the Mansion House, a fine large frame structure across the street from the little cabin he had occupied for four years.

190 Daily News Photo—By Clyde Brown

MANSION HOUSE



Not much is known of the economic structure of Nauvoo during the Mormon days. The *Times and Seasons* and the journals of church leaders were almost wholly preoccupied with religious and political matters, and the manner in which these people made their living comes to us as a blurred and shadowy picture. There was evidently little industrial development—a few mills, a wagon shop, two quarries, a match and powder factory. Most of the manufactured products were consumed at home. Agriculture seemed to have been the broad, strong basis of the settlement, for Nauvoo was flanked by Mormon farms that extended deep into the country away from the river.

In one sense, the year 1843 was the most important in Mormon history. What occurred, or did not occur, on July 12 of that year has plagued many a historian and occasioned much acrimony between the different branches of Mormonism. Nine years later, on August 29, 1852, Brigham Young announced to a Mormon conference at Salt Lake City, Utah, the existence of what he claimed was a secret revelation received by Joseph Smith at Nauvoo, July 12, 1843. This was the so-called "plural wives" revelation, advocating the doctrine of polygamy. Its authenticity has consistently been denied by the Reorganized Church. That the revelation was not in Joseph Smith's handwriting has never been disputed; furthermore it was pointed out that the *Times and Seasons* of February, 1844, carried a notice, signed by Joseph Smith, of the excommunication of a Mormon elder for preaching "polygamy and other false and corrupt doctrines." Brigham Young's version of the controversy was as follows:

"Though that doctrine (polygamy) has not been preached by the Elders, this people have believed in it for many years. The original copy of this revelation was burned up. William Clayton was the man who wrote it from the mouth of the Prophet. In the meantime it was in Bishop Whitney's possession. He wished the privilege to copy it, which brother Joseph granted. Sister Emma (Joseph Smith's wife) burnt the original."

Joseph's above-mentioned denunciation of polygamy, the year after the purported revelation, is explained by the Utah branch on the basis of expediency. Its members hold that the Prophet was justified in denying the doctrine because it would have outraged the Gentiles. The entire controversy now partakes of a somewhat academic flavor, like the Bacon-Shakespeare dispute, since polygamy has long since been abandoned.

In the winter of 1843-44 Joseph Smith took a bold political step, in



Daily News Photo—By Clyde Brown

LUCY MACK SMITH HOUSE

comparison with which the previous maneuvers of the Saints became insignificant. His attempts to secure reparation for the confiscation and destruction of Mormon property in Missouri had been unsuccessful, and now he took a new tack; he would wield the formidable bloc of Mormon votes as a weapon to secure reparation. The *Times and Seasons* of October 1, 1843, carried an editorial captioned "Who Shall Be Our Next President?", which urged that it be someone favorably disposed to the Mormon claims against Missouri. The following month Smith set about polling the presidential candidates on the question. Cass, Johnson, and Van Buren did not reply; and Henry Clay and John Calhoun would make no definite commitments, promising the Mormons only that they would be treated equitably with other religious bodies.

Smith spurned these reassurances. "In your answer to my question," he wrote Clay, "that peculiar trait of the modern politician, declaring 'if you ever enter into that high office, you must go into it unfettered, with no guarantees but such as are to be drawn from your whole life, character and conduct' so much resembles a lottery vendor's sign . . . that I cannot help exclaiming, 'O, frail man, what have you done that will exalt you? Can anything be drawn from your *life, character or conduct* that is worthy of being held up to the gaze of this nation as a model of *virtue, character and wisdom?*'"

Smith's audacious solution for the Mormons' political dilemma was the announcement, in February, 1844, that he was a candidate for the presidency of the United States. Sidney Rigdon became the Mormon candidate for vice president, and shortly Smith's platform, an amazing and unorthodox political document, was published. It advocated freeing the slaves and all convicts; thenceforth only murder would be punished by confinement or death, and other offenders would be put to work on public roads. Congress would be reduced to half its size, and its members' wages cut to \$2 a day and board. A strong national government was urged, with Presidential authority to send the army anywhere to quell mobs. All lawyers were to be converted into missionaries, "to preach the Gospel to the destitute, without purse or scrip." The document was concluded: "With the highest esteem, I am a friend of virtue and of the people."

Men experienced in missionary work were sent out to other states, but now they exhorted listeners to vote for Joseph Smith for President. Governor Ford is authority for the statement that between two thousand and three thousand missionaries were dispatched. Some historians claim that Smith was too intelligent to have hopes of victory in his campaign; that it was but a scheme to publicize Mormonism. But the question remains unsolved. Before the campaign was very far under way the trouble that had been rumbling about Nauvoo swelled to a roar that drowned out political slogans as a tornado swallows the cheep of a sparrow.

* * *

Bennett's apostasy had been that of an opportunist who could make more money by vilifying the Saints than by currying their favor. But now occurred a schism that appreciably wrenched the structure of the church. William and Wilson Law, Dr. R. D. Foster, Sylvester Emmons, and a few of their friends procured a printing press and on June 7, 1844, printed the first and only issue of the *Expositor*. That night lamps burned late and many a home buzzed with excitement as Mormons pored over the daring attack it contained. "We are aware," ran the preamble, "that we are hazarding every earthly blessing, particularly property, and probably life itself, in striking this blow at tyranny and oppression." The paper then went on to attack polygamy and the political aspirations of Smith. It called for the withdrawal of the church from politics, and the repeal of the powerful city charter. Intimations of financial irregularity were made and the question was asked why the Church, as such, owned no property in Nauvoo save the Temple. "The wealth that is brought into the place,"



Daily News Photo—By Clyde Brown

JOSEPH SMITH HOMESTEAD

the *Expositor* charged, "is swallowed up by the one great throat, from whence there is no return."

These men had all been influential in the church, and their attack was all the more dangerous to the Prophet because it was directed against him personally, rather than against Mormonism. It is surprising that these men could have retained their faith in the church while denouncing its founder as a blackguard, but such was the case.

Smith moved swiftly to suppress the revolt. The next day, Saturday, the City Council was convened to try the *Expositor* and its backers. The following Monday, June 10, it passed a resolution denouncing the paper as a nuisance. Smith, as mayor, promptly instructed the city marshal as follows:

"You are hereby commanded to destroy the printing press from whence issues the Nauvoo *Expositor*, and pi the type of said printing establishment in the street, and burn all the *Expositors* and libellous hand bills found in said establishment; and if resistance be offered to the execution of this order, by the owners or others, destroy the house; and if any one threatens you or the Mayor or the officers of the city, arrest those who threaten you; and fail not to execute this order without delay, and make due return thereon."

At the same time the Nauvoo Legion was called out. Shortly after eight that evening the marshal curtly reported that "the within-named press and type is destroyed and pied according to order."

Only seven years before, public feeling had been fanned to a fury when a pro-slavery mob at Alton had smashed the presses of Elijah Lovejoy, Abolitionist editor. Now the streets of another Illinois town were once more littered with pied type and charred copies of a newspaper. The *Expositor*'s backers fled to Carthage, and by the next day news of the paper's suppression was trickling like a freshet throughout the county. Anti-Mormon sentiment, arising from a half-dozen causes, now focused on an outlet.

The Laws procured at Carthage a warrant for the arrest of the Prophet and other Mormons responsible for the press's destruction. Smith promptly nullified it by a writ of habeus corpus in the Nauvoo court. But by now such a legal maneuver was like attempting to dam a roaring flood with a handful of sand. Anti-Mormon mobs began to assemble throughout the county; and a few level-headed citizens requested Governor Ford to call out the militia. Ford hurried to Carthage, urged that no illegal steps be taken, and then sent word to Smith to surrender, promising him security from mob action. But Smith, accompanied by his brother Hyrum and several other Mormon leaders, fled across the Mississippi on the night of June 22, and laid plans to leave Nauvoo permanently.

Many of the Mormons at Nauvoo were dismayed at their Prophet's action, and feared measures of retaliation at the hands of the Gentiles once the news of Smith's departure seeped out to the county. Faced with charges of cowardice, Smith and the others returned. On June 24 they gave themselves up and were imprisoned at Carthage, charged with inciting a riot. There, because he had previously declared Nauvoo under martial law and had called out the Nauvoo Legion, Smith was charged in addition with treason. He and Hyrum were held without bail, but the others were released upon posting \$500 each.

The tension in Hancock County wavered near the breaking point. Gentiles at Carthage feared that the Nauvoo Legion would march on their town and release the Prophet by force. At Nauvoo rumors were spreading that a Gentile mob would descend on the town, now that it was deprived of its leader, and lay it waste. Both sides began arming, while Governor Ford struggled frantically to quiet the unrest and pursue a legal course of action. The Gentile companies of the militia wanted to march on Nauvoo,

ostensibly to search for a counterfeiting plant. When Ford learned of an alleged plan to sack Nauvoo, he ordered the disbanding of all militia companies save three, one of which accompanied him to Nauvoo. The other two were left to guard the jail at Carthage. On the morning of June 27, Ford went to Nauvoo and assured the Mormons that their leader would receive a fair trial, and warned them that any attempts on their part to use force would result in the destruction of Nauvoo by the Gentiles.

Meanwhile the militia from Warsaw, bitterest of the anti-Mormon settlements, was marching to Nauvoo when it received the Governor's order to disband. Only a portion complied, and the remainder altered their course and proceeded to Carthage.

The Prophet and his brother were being held in the reception room of the jail, which bore no lock. John Taylor, who succeeded Brigham Young in the Presidency at Salt Lake City, and Willard Richards, were in the room visiting them. Shortly after five a mob, with blackened faces, attacked the jail. A volley was fired up the stairway, another from outside the building, and Hyrum Smith, shot through the skull, fell dead. The Prophet, having a six-shooter that had been smuggled in, fired three times at the mob, while Taylor desperately attempted to strike down, with a walking stick, the muskets that were thrust in at the door. The Prophet's gun

STORAGE CELLAR OF THE CHEESE FACTORY



then missed fire, and he ran to the window and was poised, ready to leap out, when three musket balls struck him.) Crying "O Lord, my God," he fell from the building. The rioters, after ascertaining that he was dead, withdrew. Richards was untouched, but Taylor had been shot several times; one ball had smashed his watch, stopping it with its hands standing at 5 o'clock, 16 minutes, and 26 seconds.

The following day the bodies of Joseph and Hyrum Smith were taken to Nauvoo, where they were met by a mournful procession. When the time came for the burial, Joseph's wife, fearing vandals, had the coffins filled with rocks, and the bodies were secretly buried beneath the Nauvoo House. Later they were moved again, and for years, until 1928, their resting place was known only to a few of Smith's descendants.

Governor Ford made an attempt to bring the murderers of the Smiths to justice. When the grand jury convened in the fall, indictments were procured against nine men, but their trial dragged on well into the spring of 1845. Mormon writers claim that the trial was a farce, that a mob intimidated the Saints who attempted to testify. When, on May 30th, the case was given to the jury, it returned a verdict of "not guilty" after deliberating a scant two and a half hours.





“As Soon As Grass Grows”

It will be recalled that most of the Mormon leaders, including a majority of the Twelve Apostles, were campaigning in the East during the last days of Smith. As soon as news of Smith's murder reached them they hurried to Nauvoo: Rigdon from Pittsburgh, Brigham Young, Heber Kimball and others from New England. Rigdon beat Young's party to Nauvoo by three days, called a meeting of the Saints and announced that the Lord had told him in a vision that a guardian must be appointed for the church. But before any steps were taken, Brigham and his friends arrived. The following day, at a meeting of Mormon leaders, Rigdon repeated his story of the vision, announced himself as the Prophet's spokesman, and suggested himself as guardian.

Now Brigham Young's genius in leadership revealed itself. At a meeting of the whole body of Saints on the next day, he undermined Rigdon's claims in an impassioned address, and strengthened his own position by making no direct plea for power for himself. Instead, he requested that the Saints "support the Twelve" (of which he was President) and this was done by a unanimous vote. Rigdon took his defeat badly. For a while he remained in Nauvoo. His opposition to Young became pronounced, and at last he was "cut off from the church, and delivered over to the buffeting of Satan." He returned to Pittsburgh, where he gathered a few followers about him and proclaimed himself "First President, Prophet, Seer, Revelator, and Translator." Undaunted by his church's meager

membership, he announced grand plans. "I will cross the Atlantic," he wrote, "encounter the Queen's (Queen Victoria's) forces, and overcome them—plant the American standard on English ground, and then march to the palace of Her Majesty, and demand a portion of her riches and dominions, which if she refuse, I will take the little madam by the nose, and lead her out, and she shall have no power to help herself." His church soon died out.

Rigdon's withdrawal did not wholly settle the question of leadership. A sizeable group believed that the Prophet's mantle should descend to Joseph Smith's eldest son, then twelve years old. Upon this premise, among others, the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints was later organized, and the presidency in that Church has since remained in the family.

The violence that culminated in the Prophet's murder abated only temporarily. In January, 1845, the troublesome Nauvoo Charter was repealed by the State Legislature. The Mormon paper proclaimed pessimistically:

"Well, our charter is repealed; the murderers of the Smiths are running at large, and if the Mormons should wish to imitate their forefathers and fulfill the Scripture by making it 'hard to kick against the pricks' by wearing cast steel spikes about four or five inches long in their boots and shoes to kick with, what's the harm?"

Sporadic brushes between Mormons and Gentiles continued, increasing in number as fall came on, and one night early in September an anti-Mormon meeting at Green Plain was fired on. Mormons claim that the attack was a frame-up by the Gentiles to excuse their subsequent purge of the out-country, wherein Mormon farmers were driven into Nauvoo by raiding parties that burned their homes and destroyed or confiscated their crops. The Mormons, under a sympathetic sheriff named Backenstos, retaliated by raising a large armed force and raiding the Gentile towns and farms. Less than a month after the incident at Green Plain, Governor Ford was again forced to step in. A committee of four, which included Stephen A. Douglas, headed an armed force that moved in to preserve order and negotiate for a settlement of the dispute.

The only settlement acceptable to the anti-Mormons was the removal of the Saints from Illinois. Informed of this ultimatum, the Saints considered the choice that faced them: a continuation of the riots and plundering, or abandonment of a thriving city, the last earthly home of their Prophet.



Daily News Photo—By Clyde Brown

BRIGHAM YOUNG HOUSE

On September 24 Brigham Young announced their decision: "as soon as grass grows and water runs" the Mormons would migrate to some distant place where there would not "need to be a difficulty with the people and ourselves."

Douglas and the committee, informed of the Mormons' decision, dispatched two remarkably even-tempered documents, one to the Saints, one to the Gentiles. The Gentiles were warned that "resort to, or persistence in, such a course (of terrorism) under existing circumstances will make you forfeit all the respect and sympathy of the community." After advising the Mormons that they should take steps making it obvious that they would leave in the spring, the committee promised them an unmolested departure.

Throughout the riots and negotiations, many an anti-Mormon was puzzled to note that work was proceeding unchecked on the Temple, then near completion. Even the agreement to leave Nauvoo brought about no halt in the work, and on October 5, 1845, the Saints assembled in the Temple for the first meeting there. Then the seeming folly was explained. The revelation commanding that the Temple be built had warned the Saints that "a baptismal font there is not upon the earth, that they, my saints, may be baptized for those who are dead; for this ordinance belongeth to my house, and cannot be acceptable to me, only in the

days of your poverty wherein ye are not able to build a house unto me." Immediately after the opening of the Temple, baptism of the dead by proxy began, and continued day after day for several months.

Meanwhile Nauvoo had been transformed into a gigantic wagon shop, and the Flat echoed almost continually with the sound of hammer and saw as the Saints prepared for their exodus. Property was disposed of at a fraction of its value; horses and oxen were at a premium.

The first body of Saints, led by Brigham Young, crossed the Mississippi in February, in advance of the time they had agreed upon. By now they were thoroughly perturbed, and they hoped, by demonstrating their good faith, to forestall violence. By the time "grass grew and water ran" the exodus was averaging a thousand persons a week. Still the Gentiles were dissatisfied. When time had tempered the passions engendered by the Mormon Wars, it was admitted that the events of the summer of 1846 were the most shameful of the whole deplorable affair.

Despite the daily departures, rumors circulated that a considerable body of the Saints planned to remain. Terrorism was renewed; on one occasion a Mormon farm-hand was brutally whipped and sent into Nauvoo to show his welts. Then, on September 11, the anti-Mormons completely abrogated the agreement that the Douglas committee had negotiated, and marched a force of 700 men and several pieces of field artillery on Nauvoo. The besieged city hastily assembled a make-shift defense comprising a few cannons contrived out of steamboat shafts. For two days there was open warfare and the echoes of cannonading rolled out over the Mississippi and through the wooded bluffs on the Iowa side. But the city did not fall.

When news of the conflict got down to Quincy, neutral citizens organized a committee of 100 and hurried to Nauvoo. There they managed to halt the siege. Thus the men of Quincy, who had broken the frontier precedent years before by welcoming the Saints, were able to extend to them a small gesture of good-will at the end.

But the anti-Mormons halted the siege only after the harshest of terms were imposed upon the Mormons. All were to leave the city immediately. An eyewitness described the confusion:

"In every part of the city scenes of destitution, misery and woe met the eye. Families were hurrying away from their homes, without a shelter,—without means of conveyance,—without tents, money, or a day's provision, with as much of their household stuff as they could carry in their hands. Sick men and women

were carried upon their beds—weary mothers, with helpless babes dying in their arms, hurried away—all fleeing, they scarcely knew or cared whither, so it was from their enemies, whom they feared more than the waves of the Mississippi, or the heat, and hunger and lingering life and dreaded death of the prairies on which they were about to be cast. The ferry boats were crowded, and the river bank was lined with anxious fugitives, sadly awaiting their turn to pass over and take up their solitary march to the wilderness.”

* * *

Meanwhile Brigham Young and his party had established a camp near Council Bluffs and there awaited the remainder of the Saints. It was not until early in 1847 that they were ready to begin their westward journey that was to find peace and permanence for them in Utah. On January 14 he assembled his following and read to them a brief proclamation. “The word and will of the Lord concerning the Camp of Israel in their journeys to the West: Let all the people of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints and those who journey with them, be organized into companies, with a covenant and promise to keep all the commandments and statutes of the Lord our God.” On and on he read, his breath freezing in a mist as the Saints were urged to be solicitous of the poor, the widows, and the fatherless. Then the Lord’s instructions were concluded, “Be diligent in keeping all my commandments, lest judgement come upon you, and your faith fail you, and your enemies triumph over you—So no more at present.

“Amen and Amen.”





Utopia Comes to Nauvoo

A few neutral non-Mormons had come to Nauvoo during the exodus, buying property and attempting to establish themselves, but so great was the anti-Mormon fury that these too had been driven from Nauvoo in the final riots. Weeds took root in the streets. Rats scurried fearlessly through the open doors of the fine houses wherein the Twelve Apostles had lived, and the Temple, most pretentious building in the Middle West, stood mute and staring above the abandoned city. On November 11, 1848, the Temple was fired by an incendiary, and only the walls were left standing. This blow at prostrate Nauvoo was the last recorded act of anti-Mormonism.

During the same year that the Temple was fired, a party of 69 Frenchmen who called themselves the Pioneers of Humanity left Le Havre, France, bound for Texas to establish a communistic society. Known popularly as the Icarians, the group had been organized by Etienne Cabet, prominent French jurist and attorney-general of Corsica during the Second Republic. Cabet, a cooper's son, had early identified himself with the proletariat. Convinced that an economic system based on the tenet "from each according to his ability and to each according to his need" would operate to the advantage of all, he had expressed his beliefs in *True Christianity* and *Voyage to Icaria*, volumes that won a considerable little band to his form of communism. Cabet felt that communism should be patterned on the moral teachings of Christ, rather than on a rigid mechanistic framework.

Cabet first applied for permission to conduct his social experiment in France, and upon refusal, obtained a land grant in Texas and recruited the first emigrant band of Pioneers of Humanity. Sailing to America, they made their way up the Red River, and established a settlement on their land grant. They were stricken by malaria, and, betrayed by Cabet's lieutenant, they soon became disheartened and returned to New Orleans.

Other groups that had meanwhile journeyed from France joined the pioneers at New Orleans. Aware that the future success of his movement depended on the fate of the American experiment, Cabet left France and joined the 200 Icarians who had gathered at New Orleans.

In the spring of 1849 three Icarians traveled up the Mississippi in search of a suitable location. Arriving at Nauvoo they found a site that conformed precisely to their needs. Delighted by their find they returned to New Orleans, and the main body of Icarians was soon installed at the city recently abandoned by the Mormons.

The Icarians bought 12 acres of land, and built several tenements and a large assembly hall which contained a communal kitchen, refectory, women's workshop, and sleeping quarters. The Icarian government consisted of a president, elected yearly, together with a cabinet composed of directors of finance, public instruction, clothing and nourishment, and industry and agriculture.

The workshops and labor gangs were supervised by foremen elected monthly by the workers. Flour, shoes, clothing, and whiskey were the principal products; surplus commodities were sold at Keokuk, Iowa, and St. Louis, Mo. Possession of money was restricted to the director of finance; individual needs of shoes and clothing were supplied from a common fund. Two doctors attended the sick of the colony, and maintained a small hospital staffed by competent nurses.

At the age of seven, Icarian children entered the colony's school and continued until they were able to conform to the high standards of an examining commission. Allowed to visit their parents on Sundays only, the children were trained to perform their own household duties and to manage the dormitories where they lived. Housing space for adults was allotted in the following manner: married couples were given one room, and bachelors, of whom there were once 108, were assigned two to a room. Each chamber contained a bed, table, mirror, and two chairs.

The Icarians had no official religion; some were atheists, others agnostics, and still others spiritualists. On Sundays, Cabet gave lectures on



OLD ICARIAN SCHOOL

Chicago Daily News Photo—By Clyd

Christ's moral teachings which were regularly attended by most of the colony. A choir, band, and theatrical club supplied communal entertainment.

Fascinated by the massive ruins of the Temple, Cabet determined to reconstruct the edifice. Despite the heavy debt that already handicapped the community, \$500 was expended for possession of the huge stone pile. Eleven workers were assigned to rebuild the structure and an Icarian architect, Alfred H. Piquenard, who later designed the State capitol at Springfield, Illinois, was sent north to buy lumber.

On the afternoon of May 27, 1850, at almost the exact hour of the day that Joseph Smith had been slain, a terrific storm tore into Nauvoo, and, seeming to single out the Temple, felled the walls with a roar that was heard three miles away. The Icarians abandoned their reconstruction and the affair occasioned the first grumbling against Cabet's leadership.

Despite the skilled workmen in the colony and the principles that they followed, shirking became contagious and production slackened. The debt against the Icarians grew larger each year. Individualism crept into the colony. As described by Emilie Vallet, member of the Icarians, "The beast began to show itself. Having been raised under the influence of individualism, we could not be expected to fulfill the requirements of such a mode of life."

Taking advantage of the homestead laws, a second Icarian colony established itself in Iowa during 1853. Unable to sustain themselves by their produce, the new colony was supported by wagon loads of clothing and food-stuffs regularly sent from Nauvoo.

In an attempt to stimulate sagging production quotas, several Icarians proposed that competitive methods be adopted by the community. Cabet, true collectivist, scorned the proposal. Indeed, those found to harbour the virus of individualism were regularly expelled from the community, so that, despite the constant arrival of Icarians from France, the population of the Nauvoo colony remained at 500.

Steadily the debt and dissension of the Icarians increased. In winter the coal that was supposed to be equally divided among all was carried away by a few as soon as it arrived, and the aged and ill were left without fuel; at breakfast, the tiny piece of butter intended to be divided equally among ten persons was snatched and consumed by a greedy few. In these and a hundred similar trifling incidents was reflected the spirit that eventually despoiled Cabet's colony.

At first called Father and likened to Christ, Cabet steadily lost his followers' esteem. Sensing that events were heading the colony toward certain failure, he came forward in the annual election of 1856 with the proposals that the president be elected thereafter for four years, and that overseers be appointed to check the production of each Icarian.

For the first time, Cabet found his claim to the presidency challenged by another candidate. In the election Cabet was soundly defeated. Refusing to accept the majority's choice, he organized a group that went on strike. Adopting a policy of no work, no food, the majority locked the dining hall. Cabet's faction chopped down the doors. A brawl ensued and the minority group was repulsed. Cabet, resorting to legal means to regain possession of the colony, brought his case into court, and, although a skillful lawyer, lost the verdict.

Aware that the breach could not be healed, Cabet and his followers left Nauvoo in the autumn of 1856, and journeyed to St. Louis. Brooding over the failure of his colony, he who had been called Christ and Father, shortly became ill and died unattended.

The majority group at Nauvoo, meanwhile, voted to sell their property, pay their debts, and combine forces with the colony that had been established at Corning, Iowa. The sale of Icarian property at Nauvoo brought \$25,000, a sum scarcely covering the colony's indebtedness. In the autumn

of 1858 the last Icarians at Nauvoo left to join their comrades in Iowa. The Corning colony, faring better than had that at Nauvoo, lasted until the 1870's.

With the departure of the Icarians, the unconventional days of Nauvoo were done. Gradual resettlement began in the late fifties and the sixties, but not in sufficient extent to occupy a community the size of the one left by the Mormons. Many of those who resettled Nauvoo in this period were German emigrants who had fled their country after the revolution of 1848, and a strong German strain still runs through Nauvoo's population. Most of the frame buildings left by the Mormons—and there were far more frames than bricks—fell into ruin and were torn down. Gradually Nauvoo scaled itself down to its present size.

The facade of the ruined Temple stood for a time like a sombre painting by Hubert Robert, but at last it was condemned and torn down. The limestone blocks eventually found their way into the construction of many a house or commercial building. Thus the Temple that Joseph Smith planned as the focus and glory of Nauvoo was diffused throughout the city, assuming a different function, but never to be wholly lost as long as Nauvoo stands on the hill beside the river.





by John Stenvall

AT THE CREST OF THE HILL

On the Hill and in the Flat

(Note—There are no street signs in Nauvoo. Years ago the names of some of the streets were changed from those given them by the Mormons, and some residents still use the old Mormon names. Seventh Street, for example, is also known as Main Street. The tourist desiring to use the map in this book can orient himself from St. Edmund Hall, which dominates the town. The State Highway, passing in front of the Hall, traverses Mulholland Street. Immediately beyond the Hall it makes a sharp turn and there becomes Tenth Street. In the following points of interest, the notation “(private)” means that the house is serving as a private dwelling. Occupants, however, are usually willing to grant permission to inspect.)

1. The JOSEPH SMITH HOMESTEAD (*open to tourists*) consists of three sections, the original log cabin into which Joseph Smith moved upon coming to Nauvoo, the left wing, which is a frame addition, and an addition at the rear. Some of these improvements were made before the Prophet moved to the Mansion House in 1843. The original log struc-

ture is the oldest house now standing in Nauvoo. Owned by the Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, the Homestead is maintained as a house museum and a shrine to Joseph Smith. It is furnished throughout with antiques, a number of which are original pieces of the Prophet's family. A member of the Reorganized Church conducts a lecture tour that includes this building, the graves immediately adjoining it, and the Mansion House across the street. There is no fixed fee, but contributions toward the upkeep of the buildings are accepted.

2. The GRAVES OF JOSEPH, EMMA, and HYRUM SMITH lie in a grassy plot, surrounded by an iron fence, on the river side of the Home-
stead. The bodies of the Prophet and his brother were moved several times after the murder at Carthage, and were finally secretly buried in a springhouse a short distance from where they now rest. This fell into ruin, and when the level of the river was raised by the completion of Keokuk Dam fear was expressed that the bodies might never be recovered. It was only after considerable search that a party sponsored by the Reorganized Church discovered the bodies in 1928. A hole in the skull of one of the bodies identified it as that of Hyrum Smith, shot through the head at Carthage jail. The bodies of the brothers, with that of Joseph Smith's wife, Emma, were reinterred January 20, 1928. Within the plot are also two base-stones from the pilasters of the Nauvoo Temple.

3. The MANSION HOUSE (*open to tourists*) served as Joseph Smith's home from August, 1843, until his death at Carthage. Originally it ex-
tended much deeper, and contained 22 rooms, 15 of which were bedrooms. Much has been made of this by sensational writers, who deduce from the large number of bedrooms proof that Smith practiced polygamy. At the time of Smith's occupancy, however, there was but one small hotel in Nauvoo, and the Prophet, possessed of great hospitality, offered lodgings in his home to many of Nauvoo's visitors. The clap-boarding of the Mansion House is new, but the window and door sills are the originals, as are many of the window panes. The portion of the interior that re-
mained after the remodeling is substantially the same as it was when Smith lived here. Occupied by James Page, grandson of John E. Page, one of the Twelve Apostles, the Mansion House is owned by the Reorganized Church and maintained as a house museum. Among its exhibits are foreign editions of the *Book of Mormon*, early editions of *Doctrine and Covenants*, two bound volumes of *Times and Seasons*, and Joseph Smith's desk, which contains several secret compartments. The Mansion House

is headquarters for the guide service maintained by the Reorganized Church (*small fee, depending upon size of party, for tour of the Mormon dwellings*). Lodging can also be procured here or at the Nauvoo House, and the Church rents several tourist cabins on the river side of the house.

4. The NAUVOO HOUSE (*open to tourists*) was begun in 1841 as a boarding house, following a revelation received by the Prophet. The original plans called for a building 120 feet by 40 feet on Seventh Street, with an ell of the same dimensions extending at right angles along the river. The death of Joseph Smith halted construction before completion. Later Smith's widow remarried, and her husband, L. C. Bidamon, altered the plans and completed the building as it stands today. The foundation as originally planned still stands on the Seventh Street side. The small stone building, at the north end of the foundation, was built as an office by Bidamon. The Nauvoo House is used to provide lodging for visitors whenever the Mansion House is filled.

5. The NATIONAL WOMAN'S RELIEF SOCIETY MARKER commemorates the founding of the Mormon's relief society by Joseph Smith, March 17, 1842. Still functioning, the society is one of the oldest such organizations in existence. The bronze tablet, bearing a bas-relief of the building in which the society was begun, was erected by the Utah Church.

6. The SITE OF JOSEPH SMITH'S STORE, adjoining the marker, is clearly indicated by the cellar and foundation stones. Smith found time to conduct a general store while discharging his duties as head of his church and mayor of his town. His commercial venture was not a success, largely because of the liberal credit he granted to the poor.

7. The WILLIAM MARKS HOUSE (*private*) is a two-story red brick, well preserved, with an archaic little lantern over the doorway. Marks was president of the Nauvoo Stake of Zion.

8. The SITE OF THE HYRUM SMITH HOUSE now has only a few stones to mark its foundation. Hyrum Smith, with his brother and Sidney Rigdon, composed the First Presidency of the Church. Functioning later as Patriarch, he wielded an influence second only to that of the Prophet.

9. The SITE OF THE FIRST *TIMES AND SEASONS* BUILDING is marked by the cellar excavation and the foundation stones. Here, until 1845, was published the Mormon newspaper, a bi-weekly that printed the Prophet's revelations, the proclamations of the Mormon leaders, and, in



FOUNDATION OF THE PROPHET'S STORE

Chicago Daily News Photo—By Clyde

keeping with the customs of the times, long accounts of hurricanes, fires and other disasters from all over the globe.

10. The ORSON PRATT HOUSE (*unoccupied*) is a two-story brick with a keystone arch over the door. Orson Pratt, one of the original Twelve Apostles, was well versed in mathematics, astronomy, and Hebrew, and became Church Historian at Utah in 1874. With Erastus Snow he was the first of the Mormon party to enter Salt Lake Valley, July 24, 1847.

11. The SIDNEY RIGDON HOUSE (*private*), a story-and-a-half frame, is owned by the Reorganized Church. The building served as the first post-office in Nauvoo. Rigdon, with Alexander Campbell, had founded a congregation in Pennsylvania that later grew into the Disciples of Christ, or Campbellites. He subsequently became one of the first converts to Mormonism, and until his expulsion from the Church at Nauvoo, was one of the most influential leaders. His ambition frequently dismayed Joseph Smith; shortly after joining the church, he, too, began to receive revelations, and desisted only after the Prophet had notified him that the Lord expressly disapproved of this activity.

12. The FIRST HOTEL IN NAUVOO, a part of which comprises a two-story frame across from the Rigdon House, is now a private dwelling. Before the construction of the Mansion House, its modest quarters were

frequently strained to their limits by the constant influx of immigrants, politicians, journalists, and the merely curious.

13. The SITE OF THE MATCH AND POWDER FACTORY is now covered by a cornfield, and nothing remains to mark the place where the building once stood.

14. The SITE OF THE SEVENTIES HALL is indistinguishable, save for a few crumbled stones, from the farmer's field that it occupies. The Seventies were a quorum of seventy elders, each of whom devoted his time to missionary work.

15. The BRIGHAM YOUNG HOUSE (*private*), a two-story red brick in good repair, is flanked by two great maple trees. Young, a Vermonter, became one of the Twelve Apostles in 1835 and was one of Joseph Smith's closest associates. After the Mormon trek to Utah he became territorial governor, and, although he lost that position when the Federal government began to war on polygamy, he exercised great authority over the Utah Church until his death in 1877. A glazer and painter in his youth, he developed, in Utah, organizational and administrative ability that is credited as the chief force in establishing a permanent and prosperous community at that place.

16. The SECOND *TIMES AND SEASONS*' BUILDING, a two-story red brick, is now unoccupied.

17. The ALMON BABBITT HOUSE, boarded up and half-covered with vines, is a two-story brick that has weathered to a slate-grey. Once it was one of the most pretentious of the Mormon houses, rivaling that of Brigham Young. Babbitt served as a Trustee for the Church after the expulsion of the Mormons from Nauvoo, and stayed here for a while, liquidating the Mormons' holdings. Later he was influential in gaining the admission of Utah into the Union.

18. The JOHN TAYLOR HOUSE, a short distance north, is now but a crumbled shell, its roof long caved in, its walls covered with vines. Taylor, one of the two Mormons with the Prophet and his brother at Carthage jail, was editor of the *Times and Seasons* at Nauvoo. He succeeded Brigham Young as president of the Utah Church.

19. The JONATHAN BROWNING HOUSE (*unoccupied*), a two-story red brick, was the home of the father of John M. Browning, inventor of the Browning rapid fire gun.

20. The REORGANIZED CHURCH OF JESUS CHRIST OF LATTER-DAY SAINTS is a neat red brick that was built as a school-house. The Reorganized branch, which numbers more than 100,000 members and maintains headquarters at Independence, Mo., is presided over by Frederick M. Smith, grandson of the Prophet.

21. The MASONIC HALL (*private*), a bright red brick with white window trim, was formerly a three-story structure, but the top story was removed in remodeling. The Nauvoo Lodge, of which Joseph Smith was a member, was the largest in the State at the time of Mormon occupancy of Nauvoo.



22. The ORSON HYDE HOUSE (*private*), a story-and-a-half frame that faces one of Nauvoo's many vineyards, was the home of another of the Twelve Apostles. Hyde, who helped with the initial missionary work in England, was later active in establishing colonies in Utah and California.

23. The LUCY MACK SMITH HOUSE (*private*), a small brick structure with a frame addition, was the home of the Prophet's mother.

24. The ERASTUS SNOW HOUSE (*private*), is a two-story, red brick that is well preserved. The doorways of its double entrance are bordered by interesting, old-fashioned leaded windows. It is believed that Lorenzo Snow occupied one half of the house. Lorenzo Snow, one of the Twelve at Nauvoo, subsequently founded Brigham City, Utah, and became, in 1898, the fifth President of the Utah Church.

25. The JOHN SMITH HOUSE (*private*), a two-story, stucco dwelling profusely covered with vines, has been extensively remodeled.



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MASONIC HALL

Here lived Joseph Smith's uncle, who later was to become Presiding Patriarch of the Church at Utah.

26. The LORIN FARR HOUSE (*private*), a two-story brick that has been painted grey, now serves as a tourist home. Farr was influential in the establishment of Ogden, Utah, and became its first mayor. At Nauvoo he served as a teacher, and taught the children of Joseph Smith, Brigham Young, John Taylor, and many other Mormon leaders.

27. The HEBER C. KIMBALL HOUSE (*private*) is a two-story brick topped by a look-out platform of the type common in river towns. Inset in the front of the house is a stone bearing the inscription "H. C. K. 1845." Heber Kimball was one of the Twelve Apostles at Nauvoo and subsequently became Counsellor to Brigham Young, and Lieutenant-Governor of Deseret, as Utah was known before its organization as a territory.

28. The WILFORD WOODRUFF HOUSE (*private*), picturesquely covered with vines, is a well-kept two-story brick structure. At either end are large double chimneys. One of the early Twelve Apostles, Woodruff succeeded John Taylor as President of the Utah Church. On September 25, 1890, he issued the famous proclamation calling upon the Saints to submit to the laws of the United States and abandon the practice of polygamy. His request was approved by the Church in general conference eleven days later, officially ending the practice.

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29. ST. EDMUND HALL (*visitors welcome*), which overlooks the Flat from the very crest of the Hill, is a Catholic boarding school for boys. Students of the ages from 5 to 14 are admitted, and education is supervised by the Sisters of St. Benedict. Established in 1926, the Hall enrolls an average of 40 students yearly.

30. ST. MARY'S ACADEMY (*visitors welcome*), also at the crest of the Hill, is a Roman Catholic boarding school for girls. At the rear of the main building is a small stone building that once served as the Mormon arsenal. The parade and drill grounds, adjoining, are now covered with vineyards.

31. The SITE OF NAUVOO TEMPLE has nothing left to mark the imposing structure that once reared here and dominated the whole of the Mormon city. At the end of the present business district, the Temple block became the location of numerous buildings, including six erected by the Icarians, after the Mormons left here. The style of the Temple was



a mixture of Romanesque, Egyptian, and Greek; 83 by 128 feet, it was adorned with 30 hewn pilasters that cost \$3,000 each. The base-stone of each pilaster was decorated with a representation of a quarter-moon, the cap-stone with a sun surrounded by rays, and above that, a representation of a star. Topping the entire structure was a gilded statue of Moroni, the angel that, according to the Prophet, appeared to him in a vision and told him about the plates bearing the *Book of Mormon*. In the basement of the Temple was a great baptismal fount, supported by 12 oxen. Baptism, in the Mormon dogma, was identified with resurrection; hence the peculiar location of the fount, in the basement "below the living."

32. The PAROCHIAL SCHOOL, on the southwest corner of the Temple lot, was built of Temple stone by the Icarians, who used it as the common school. It is now owned by the Catholic Church.
33. The TWO ICARIAN APARTMENT HOUSES (*private*), on the southeast corner of the Temple lot, are two-story, frame structures, grey and weather-beaten. Originally there were four of them along Mulholland Street. Occupying a ground floor room of the corner house is Miss Rose Nicaise, last of the first-generation descendants of the Icarians. She dwells in the same room to which her parents were assigned by Cabet. On the doors are painted the numerals that originally marked the room. Ingenious locks, manufactured by Miss Nicaise's father at Cabet's directions, are on each of the doors in the building. Miss Nicaise speaks French. Born after the Icarian colony had failed, she recalls nothing of the experiment save that it removed her father from France and thereby



broke his heart. Several years ago, Miss Nicaise lost the copy of *Voyage en Icarie* over which her father would sometimes meditate. He held no malice for Cabet, Miss Nicaise relates, and his faith in Cabet's fundamental principles was lifelong.

34. The ICARIAN MEETING HALL formerly stood at the northeast corner of the Temple block, and functioned as the town opera house. In 1938 it was destroyed by fire.

35. The ORIENTAL HOTEL (*small fee for inspection of relics*) is Nauvoo's only hotel. Jamming its lobby, its corridors, its rooms, and overflowing to a barn in the rear is an astounding collection of Mormon and Icarian relics, and 19th century antiques. Currier and Ives prints and Seth Thomas clocks hang on the walls. Among the deeds, manuscripts, and books are copies of the *Expositor*, letters of Joseph Smith, and a

bound volume of *Times and Seasons*. The rooms are furnished with antiques; canopy beds, rope-net beds with trundles, complete sets in cedar, walnut, and cherry, many of which antedate the Icarian years. There is one room furnished with Joseph Smith's furniture. In the yard stands one of the base-stones of the Temple, the finest specimen in existence.

36. The JOSEPH AGNEW HOUSE (*private*), a one-story brick with a frame addition, was the residence, according to local legend, of the young boy who fired the Mormon Temple.

37. The WINE CELLAR (*obtain permission at adjoining house*) is typical of the many wine cellars in Nauvoo. Although the Icarians made wine here, most of the cellars were built after they had left. Staunchly constructed, they are invariably in excellent condition, with sound walls and true arches. Forty of these cellars were built in Nauvoo.

38. The AMERICAN LEGION HALL, a small, rectangular building, was built entirely of Temple stone.

NAUVOO'S CHIEF REPOSITORY OF ITS RELICS

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NAUVOO

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Library
Western Illinois
State College
Macomb, Illinois

YOUNG

KNIGHT

MULHOLLAND

RIPLEY

WHITE

HOTCHKISS

MUNSON

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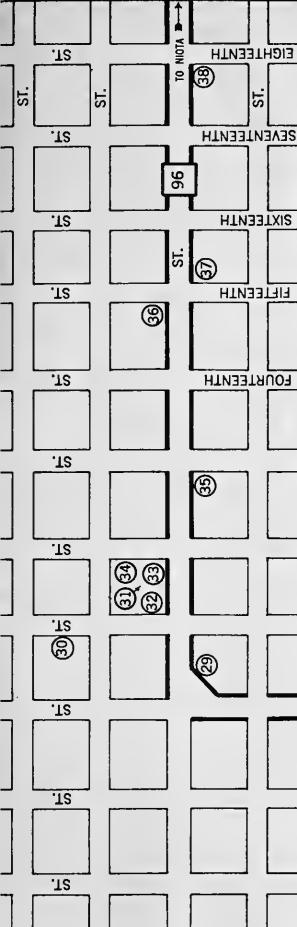
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KEY TO MAP

1. Joseph Smith Homestead
2. Graves of Joseph, Emma, and Hyrum Smith
3. Mansion House
4. Nauvoo House
5. National Woman's Relief Society Marker
6. Site of Joseph Smith's Store
7. William Marks House
8. Site of Hyrum Smith's House
9. Site of First Times and Seasons Building
10. Orson Pratt House
11. Sidney Rigdon House
12. First Hotel in Nauvoo
13. Site of Match and Powder Factory
14. Site of Sevenies Hall
15. Brigham Young House
16. Second Times and Seasons Building
17. A.W. Babitt House
18. John Taylor House
19. Jonathan Browning House
20. Reorganized Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints
21. Masonic Hall
22. Orson Hyde House
23. Lucy Mack Smith House
24. Erastus Snow House
25. John Smith House
26. Lorin Farr House
27. Heber C. Kimball House
28. Wilford Woodruff House
29. Edmund Hall
30. St. Mary's Academy
31. Site of Nauvoo Temple
32. Parochial School
33. Icarian Apartment Houses
34. Icarian Meeting Hall
35. Oriental Hotel
36. Joseph Agnew House
37. Wine Cellar
38. American Legion Hall

RIVER

MISSISSIPPI

TWELFTH ST.
ELVENTH ST.
LUMBER ST.

THIRTEENTH ST.
TWELEVENTH ST.

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